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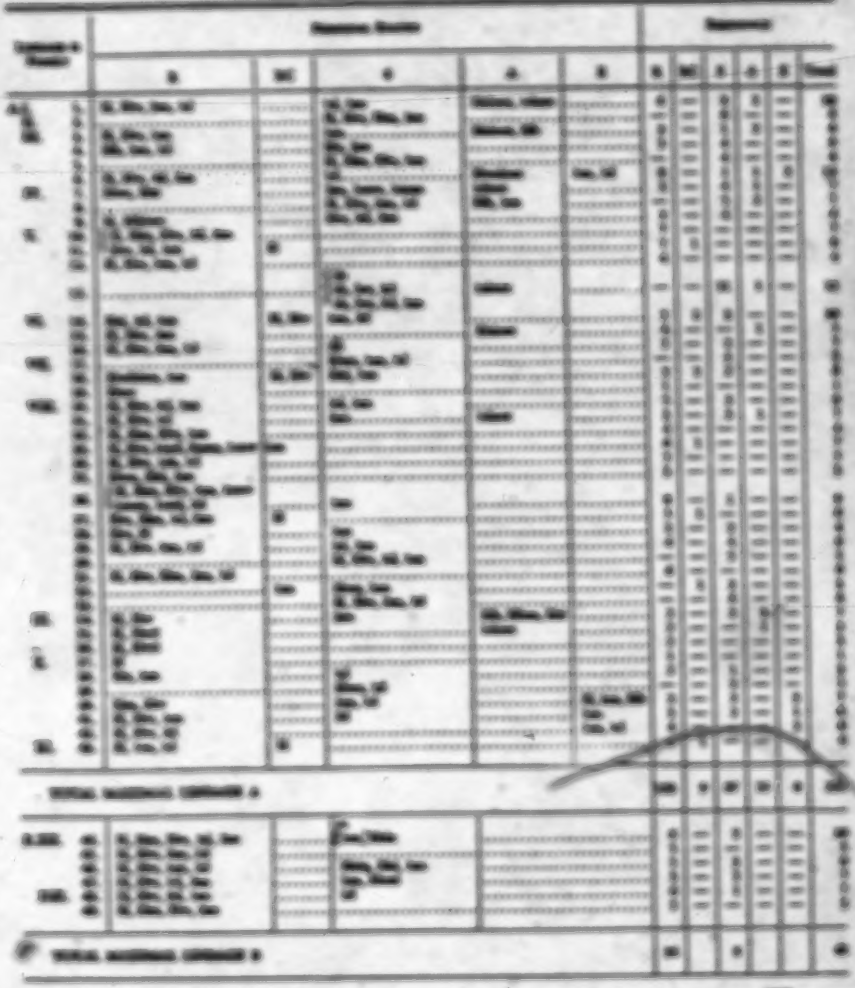
belong, variously according to the particular pattern, to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth generation in descent from Mongor Jorjo, he being counted as the first generation. The main part of the Core Group is divided into three

Table 1. Core Genos: Patronyms, or Lineage, Numbers and Ramages [1]



[1] [See key to symbols on page 99 -- Ankyp]

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TABLE 1. CODE GROUP: PERSONNEL BY LANGUAGE, NATIONALITY AND RESIDENCE—Continued

Language & Country	Nationality											
	A	AC	C	D	E	A	AC	C	D	E	Total
[illegible]											

?: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
Middle East M1

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are being actively removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not intrude very much into everyday living in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been attained in any culture at any time except under special, hence complicated, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the women can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unloved wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

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In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, housekeeper, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Mismīl, used to be given to quite a number of baby girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

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The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the incessant physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hard-working and work-worn as she is.

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As has been noted, the great majority of the Mismīl women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kulp, 1934, p. 269). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1936, pp. 208-09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

Middle East 961
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Johnson ME1

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Ab). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is long identified, the word *bayt* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference 'ayl, as Murqus so among urban dwelling Muslims of Syria (Daghestani, 191, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and/or kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

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It is the first impression of the present writer that in Mungil it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of observers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1944, p. 37) and Woolmore (1946, pp. 216-17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Mungil, assuming that the interpretations given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division expressed may be found, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenwalter has recently reported (1952, pp. 363-65) a specific case of the extended family among acculturated Egyptian Muslim villagers.

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Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the Case Group consists of eighty-seven households, each an independent residence unit. The ultimate figure, eighty-nine, indicates the fact that in winter, two of the households are each split into two independent households. In summer, these pairs—they are brothers—and their families live together in the village; in winter they live separately in Beirut. There are two or four residence units depending on the season.

Of this total of independent households not two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commuter), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that *all the rest* are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of the two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant wholly extended families existed or ever had existed in Mungil. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have this in Mungil, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and herman's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always enemies because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About this female-himself trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Mzeqif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families as *social* units regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent storms and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a stronger social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedouin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Dagistanni, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

595 There are, indeed, some indications at Mzeqif of in-group cohesiveness extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. There are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tennyson, 1942, pp. 253-34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

595 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining
615 houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrange-
621 ment, but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of minimal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

AL-MUNSIF
KIBRAWAN
LEBANON
HOUSE OWNERSHIP BY
MAXIMAL LINEAGE

GRAPHIC SUMMARY

128 THESE PICTORIAL STATISTICS ARE INTENDED TO GIVE THE READER THE SALIENT FACTS REGARDING THE AREA TO BE AFFECTED BY THE KASAMI RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT. THIS AREA COVERS THE FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES OF SARAFAND, SAKSA-KIYAH, LOUBYA, EN-NEBARIYAH, AND 'ADLOUN. ALSO INCLUDED IN THIS GRAPHIC PRESENTATION ARE THE CONTROL VILLAGES OF EL-GHAZIYAH, EN-NAJJARIYAH, AND EL-'AQQOUSIYAH THAT NEIGHBOR ON THE PROJECT AREA.

592 AVERAGE SIZE of HOUSEHOLD

Eight Villages

3

Population

Accurate current population figures are not available for Lebanon. Only one complete census has been made since the days when Lebanon was a part of the Ottoman Empire. That census was made in 1932 during the French mandate. It is out of date and is of little use where current population data are required.

An attempt to establish what the current population is was made in this survey. The method used was to obtain an estimate by the mukhtar. In all cases his estimate was discussed by other village leaders who were present during the interview and the figure taken was the one that was agreed upon. As the mukhtar is the official government representative in the village, and is called among his duties to the registration of births and deaths, he is the best available source for population information. Discussion by other villagers tended to reduce bias and made for as accurate an estimate as possible.

Since the figures obtained from the mukhtar are at best only considered estimates, it was decided to check his figures through a sampling technique. Village residences were examined, a sample of about 15 per cent was selected at random, and a house-to-house inquiry was made to determine the number of persons living in each one of the dwelling units selected. After the average number of persons in a household in the sample was determined, the total village population was arrived at by multiplying this number times the number of residences.

The results of the sampling can be seen in Table II. It should be noted that they correlate closely to the estimates furnished by the mukhtar. The total population in the project area according to the housing sample is 5,310 while the estimates of the various mukhtars give a total of [illegible]. The average size of a household in the five project villages is 6.1 persons.

In light of the close agreement shown between the total population figures achieved by the sample and those the mukhtars, the inclination is to accept such estimates as being reliable estimates. The results shown Table II are believed to be more reliable than any other reliable data arrived at to date. It is recommended that the population estimate made by the mukhtars (column 4, Table II) be accepted as correct for use in connection with the Improvement Project.

[illegible]

TABLE II

Population

[illegible] Command Project

District	(1) Number of Blocks	(2) Average Number of Persons per Block	(3) Population Col. (1) x Col. (2)	(4) Population as Enumerated in Sample
Project Area				
[illegible]	510	3.5	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	356	3.0	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	54	3.7	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	92	7.3	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	332	6.8	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sub-total for project villages	1344	(Weighted) 4.1	[illegible]	[illegible]
Control Area				
[illegible]	510	6.5	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	60	6.1	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	27	6.8	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sub-total for control villages	597	(Weighted) 7.0	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	1941	(Weighted) 6.0	[illegible]	[illegible]

— 8 —

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *ḥārah*. Often a stable is connected to or a part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes one or two miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this district women do not plow. There is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was L.L. 3 (about 80 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 13 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a *ghar* of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, after harvesting the cultivated fields, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it has been brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind them a massive, flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding edges or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut like fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

The composition of the sample households by sex, age, age at marriage, and number of inmate was tabulated. Chapter five has additional material on nationality and citizenship. Generally there are separate tabulations for the head of household and children, grandchildren, parents, siblings, other family members and servants. The material thus usually covers three generations.

Plural Marriage

It is particularly interesting that in only two of our sample households were there plural marriages. In one case the man had two wives, and in the other, three. The economics of subsistence militates against plural marriages.

Sex of Members of the Household

3.31 Head of household, Table 3

The head of the household was defined by the respondents themselves. In nine-tenths of the cases these were male.

3.32 Children of head of household, Table 4

Fifty-five percent of the children were male. The sex ratio of the first seven children and of the eighth through twelfth children, grouped, are shown in the table. It would appear that there is a significant difference in the incidence of children remaining in the household by sex.

It is possible that there is a survival differential in favor of male children, but on the other hand, there is also a greater tendency for male children to remain in the household.

3.22 **Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7**

Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

3.24 **Siblings of head of household, Table 8**

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

3.25 **Other family members to household, Table 9**

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependence of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

3.26 **Servants of household, Table 10**

Servants in Beirut households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

Age at Marriage of Members of Household

3.31 **Male head of household, Table 11**

The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had not married. The modal interval for age at last

THE MODAL INTERVAL FOR AGE AT LAST

532 marriage is between twenty-six and thirty. Over half of the sample married between twenty-one and thirty. The incidence of child marriage is quite low (.3%) while only one-tenth delayed marriage until thirty-six or later.

3.32 Female head of household and wife of household head. Table 13

[592] When it comes to age at marriage, we find a considerable difference for women as compared to men. Only one percent are unmarried compared to eight percent of the men. Marriage occurred earlier, with eighteen percent married at the age of fifteen or younger compared to the men's three-tenths of one percent. The modal age of marriage is in the interval sixteen to twenty (43%) and the second highest frequency is twenty-one to twenty-five (22%). By the age of twenty-five, then, eighty-five percent of the female household heads and wives of heads were married.

Far fewer than among the men marry at thirty-six or over (.8%).

3.33 Children of head of household. Table 13

592 Surprisingly, over ninety-seven percent of the children residing in the sample households are unmarried. This figure probably reflects the influence of urbanization. In addition, it is a symptom of a tendency to set up
592 individual households when married. Of those who are married, the modal age is between twenty-one and twenty-five.

The detailed breakdown of age at marriage for the first seven children and for the eighth through twelfth child, grouped, are shown in the table.

3.34 Father of head of household. Table 14

592 There were just twenty-five fathers of
592 heads of household in the sample, while there were two hundred and thirty-one mothers. This discrepancy is accounted for by the presumed greater incidence of widows, based on our knowledge of the age difference between men and women at marriage, and also by the grea-

ter life span of females. About thirty-two per-
cent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex difference as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, only one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

p. 4(8)

eighty-five percent were born prior to the mandate, the remainder during the mandate.

3.45 Female head of household and wife of household head, Table 24

As in case of men, the women heads of households and wives of household heads were in great majority born before 1922 (70 %). However, thirty percent compared to fifteen percent for the men, were born during the mandate.

3.46 Children of head of household, Table 25

The majority of the children of the heads of households, unlike their parents, were born during the mandate years (64 %). Only a few were born before the mandate. As might be expected, a detailed breakdown of the children from the first to the twelfth indicates a shift from the pre-mandate and mandate birth years to post mandate time. Thus for the sixth through twelfth children a majority have been born under the Republic.

3.47 Father and mother and father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 26, 27, 28, 29

Both fathers and mothers of heads of households and fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law all dated back to before the mandate.

3.48 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 30

Over three-quarters of the grandchildren of heads of households have been born since the mandate rule ended.

3.49 Siblings of head of household, Table 31

It is interesting to note that the siblings of the heads of households have a majority born during the mandate years, unlike the heads of households themselves. This is to be expected inasmuch as the eldest boy is the normal heir to the position of head of household upon the the death of the father.

p. 9(a)

3.49.3 Tenants, Tables 34, 35

To investigate the amount of crowding, respondents were asked if they had any tenants living in the same apartment. In only seven percent of the cases was there an affirmative answer. These people were asked if the tenants were part of the household consumption unit. One-third indicated that they were. It is estimated that in the population there are about 7,000 tenants.

F-1(b)

Table 5
Sex of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1831	100	
Male	1665	90.92	.007
Female	166	9.18	

Table 6
Sex of Children of Head of Household

Sex	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1407	100.00	1243	100.00	981	100.00
Male	2804	55.29	.007	894	60.94	681	54.79	485	50.26
Female	2267	44.71	.004	573	39.06	562	45.21	478	49.74

4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8-12th Child	Percent
633	100.00	380	100.00	214	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
334	53.78	200	52.65	120	56.08	54	50.47	38	48.72
287	46.22	180	47.37	94	43.92	53	49.53	40	51.28

10; Churchill S--5 (1992) 1994 ME1 Lebanon MEI

Table 7
Sex of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100	
Male	128	60.43	.034
Female	86	40.57	.034

Table 8
Sex of Siblings of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100	
Male	171	47.77	.026
Female	187	52.23	.026

Table 9
Sex of Other Family Members in Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100	
Male	94	32.64	.028
Female	194	67.36	.028

Table 10
Sex of Servants of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	385	100	
Male	39	6.55	.010
Female	355	93.28	.010
No Answer	1	.17	

5792
1692

Table 34

Number of Tenants in Household

No. of Household	Number	Percent
Total	1921	100.00
One	47	2.45
Two	20	1.04
Three	14	0.73
More than three	47	2.45
None	1793	93.34

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .0144$

$v = .086$

Table 35

Tenants by Membership in Household Consumption Unit

	Number	Percent	qf
Total	118	100.00	
Considered Members	38	32.76	.044
Not Considered Members	78	65.52	.044
Some Yes / Some No	2	1.72	

p. 36 (a)

18 Churchill's 5-5 (1956) 1954 1955 Lehmann 1983